

**CONFLICT ADAIR PARK: PRESERVING NEIGHBORHOOD
ARCHITECTURE AND HISTORY AND BUILDING AFFORDABLE HOUSING**

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**CONFLICT ADAIR PARK: PRESERVING NEIGHBORHOOD
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To Dad, Mom and Jared

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SUMMARY

The Adair Park neighborhood in southwest Atlanta was designed as a residential enclave for working class whites that has evolved to what it is today: an area primarily inhabited by low-income minorities. Many of its residents have worked to preserve the area's distinctive architectural heritage. Low housing values and vacancies have attracted affordable housing developers such as the Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity. In response to specific plans for the development of affordable housing in the area, members of Adair Park organized themselves to petition the City of Atlanta to adopt architectural standards that preserved the existing housing stock, and ensured that any new construction would be compatible with the neighborhood's architectural character. This study explores the tensions between inner-city communities and affordable housing developers in the quest for affordable and architecturally significant neighborhoods. The conclusions from this research suggest that the desire of predominately low-income neighborhoods to preserve the architecture character of historically significant neighborhoods may be firmly rooted in middle class aspirations and values. Moreover, the conclusions from this research also suggest non-profit housing developers should consider these attitudes prior to constructing affordable housing in predominately low-income neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

This study chronicles and explores how low-income, minority inner city neighborhoods such as the Adair Park neighborhood of Atlanta, Georgia, pursued strategies to preserve the architectural and historic integrity of their neighborhood while acquiescing to the affordable housing development efforts of non-profit housing developers such as Habitat for Humanity. This study focuses on the well defined Adair Park neighborhood in southwest Atlanta, which was developed in two distinct sections following the construction of the trolley line in the adjacent West End neighborhood during the early 1890s with Pearce Street serving as the division between the northern and southern sections of the neighborhood (City of Atlanta, 2010).

The northern section of Adair Park was developed primarily between 1902 and 1911 on a gridded street system by white developers for blue collar whites; conversely, the southern section of Adair Park developed in 1891, on a curvilinear street grid by Forrest and George, the sons of Atlanta real estate developer, George Washington Adair. Residences in the southern section of the neighborhood were sold to members of the white middle class primarily employed as contractors, engineers, mechanics, public safety and sales (City of Atlanta, 2010).

Consistent with the experiences of other inner city neighborhoods in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, white members of the neighborhood fled to suburban environments for fear of racial integration (Jackson 1985, 289). The black migration patterns to the suburbs during the 1970s were very much similar to that of the white

middle and upper classes, as better educated blacks with high paying jobs moved to suburban environments to flee crime and inner city disinvestment (Wilson 1996, 38).

Today, the members of Adair Park identify positively with the rich architectural heritage and history of the neighborhood; even with areas of the neighborhood noticeably in decline, and neglect, the residential character of the neighborhood, remains unique among Atlanta neighborhoods. Housing styles include Bungalow, Craftsman, English Vernacular Revival, Folk Victorian and Queen Anne. Non-profit housing developers such as the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity, have built affordable housing units in neighborhoods such as Adair Park not just to construct affordable, safe and sanitary housing for low-income families in need, but also to revitalize declining neighborhoods through the construction of affordable and new housing. The affordable housing development efforts of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity in Adair Park were met with stiff opposition from neighborhood members, in which concerns surrounding the quality of new housing and the perceived incompatibility of the housing with the architecture of existing housing surfaced, creating tension between neighborhood members and the desire to construct affordable housing units.

The primary methodological approach to this study were structured interviews with current and former residents of Adair Park, staff at the Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity and planning staff at the City of Atlanta Bureau of Planning and Community Development. The interviews provided for this study focused on the architecture, history and the planning process undertaken to preserve the architectural and historical character of Adair Park. Neighborhood informant contacts were provided for this research were provided by the planning staff from the City of Atlanta Bureau of Planning and

Community Development and other informants were found through the snowball sampling research method. Snowball sampling, one of the more popular sampling methods in qualitative research, is used to access new informants or participants for hard to reach populations, and in some instances may be considered bias, as informants generally supply other informants sharing similar views (Noy 2008, 330).

However, snowball sampling was the necessary research method for this study given the difficulty in accessing the relatively few informants with actual knowledge of the tension between the desire of neighborhood residents to preserve the architectural and historical character of Adair Park and the desire of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity to construct affordable housing units. The questions asked in the structured interviews for members of Adair Park, staff with the Atlanta Department of Planning and Community Development and the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity staff focused on architectural compatibility and neighborhood development. The questions asked during the structured interview are located in Appendices A, B and C.

The balance of the thesis includes the following: Chapter 2 is a literature review of affordable housing and non-profit housing developers and their role in the revitalization of inner city neighborhoods. Chapter 3 presents a brief history of the Adair Park neighborhood, an overview of the neighborhood's demographic profile and a catalogue of the architectural features in Adair Park research. Chapter 4 introduces the primary data of this study, the tension between the need to redevelop inner city neighborhoods ravaged by years of neglect and racial segregation and the preservation of architecturally significant neighborhoods. Specifically, this chapter introduces the tension between the need to construct affordable housing units for low-income families in

need, the preservation of neighborhoods architecturally and the perceived right of low-income families to not only affordable, safe and sanitary housing, but aesthetically pleasing housing as well.

Inner city neighborhoods are in vital need of redevelopment, affordable housing and reliable, quality public services. Considerations for architectural preservation and historic preservation are either low priorities or not even considered in regards to the construction of affordable housing for low-income families in need, as affordable housing is typically constructed by non-profit housing developers with private philanthropic or public subsidy. While frills such as garnish help structures to blend with the architecture of the existing housing stock, the cost to construct housing increases to such an extent that the goals of non-profit housing developers such as Habitat for Humanity to construct affordable housing for low-income families in need and to rebuild declining neighborhoods may be jeopardized. Thusly, this presents an excellent opportunity to explore the tension between the residents of Adair Park, and their pursuit to preserve the architectural and historical character of the neighborhood and the staff at the Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity who have been involved in the construction of many affordable housing units and neighborhood revitalization efforts throughout the Atlanta metropolitan area.

This thesis hopes to inform readers of the tension between predominately low-income, minority inner city neighborhoods and their pursuit for the preservation of architecturally and historically significant neighborhoods, and the desire of non-profit housing developers to construct generic affordable housing units. This tension leads to a serious conflict in not only the corporate model for the construction of affordable housing

units, but also in the emergence of conflicting goals in the pursuit of the preservation of architecturally and historically significant neighborhoods warranting increased discussion to explore how residents in architecturally and historically significant neighborhoods and non-profit housing developers must find common ground.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines the rise and the role of non-profit housing developers and their relationship to the dynamics of the inner city housing markets and inner city revitalization efforts. The structure of this chapter begins with the evolution of community development corporations into non-profit housing developers and concludes with their roles in the implementation of inner city housing policy, which includes the construction of affordable housing and revitalizing distressed inner city neighborhoods as a matter of action and social consciousness.

2.1. The Rise of Non-profit Housing Developers.

By the 1960s, widespread unrest in urban areas as a result of the Civil Rights Movement caused the American public to sour on the efforts of Congress to revitalize inner city neighborhoods through the construction of public housing. The findings of National Advisory of Civil Disorders, also known as the Kerner Commission, underscored in their report, the Kerner Report, that poverty and racial and social tensions in the inner city, and indirectly, the failures of Congress to effectively revitalize the decaying inner city through the construction of public housing and planning at the national scale led to the violence plaguing many cities in the United States during the late 1960s (Metzger 2000, 14-15; O'Regan and Quigley 2000, 298). Moreover, the concentration of poverty, high rates of violence associated with high-rise public housing

projects prompted discussions concerning the notion of architectural determinism and pluralism in the planning process (von Hoffman 1996, 431). As Congress sought to smooth racial relations and to eradicate poverty in inner city neighborhoods during the 1960s, relatively crude forms of present-day community development corporations emerged, and became increasingly active in inner city housing and neighborhood development efforts (Vidal 1995, 204). Although a few of the early community development corporations engaged in the construction of affordable housing, most of the early community development corporations sought to empower declining inner city neighborhoods with a distinct emphasis on “ghetto economic development efforts and black capitalism” (Stoutland 1999, 196-197).

The emergence of a post-industrial society during the 1980s further exacerbated the poor economic, physical and social conditions in inner city neighborhoods (Jackson 1985, 284-285). The continued exodus of educated, non-poor whites, as well as blacks and other ethnicities, all but cemented the inner city as a haven for the poor and the suburbs as a refuge for the non-poor from crime, integrated schools and physical decay. William Julius Wilson argues that the growing concentration of poverty in inner city neighborhoods is a direct result of the exodus of higher income earning white, black and other non-black families to suburban environments and a dramatic increase in the number of poor black and non-black families in the inner city” (1996, 42).

In response to the continued decline of inner city neighborhoods in the 1970s, community development corporations emerged out of community-based advocacy organizations reflecting a paradigm shift from economic empowerment in predominately black neighborhoods to engaging in housing construction to serve broader geographies

and other races (Stoutland 1999, 198). In 1974, the U.S. Congress passed the Housing and Community Development Act that signaled a shift in the role of the federal government in the construction of public housing. It also reflected an admission on the part of the federal government that economic inefficiencies and the ineffectiveness of earlier public housing programs required the encouragement of housing and neighborhood development on the local level (O'Regan and Quigley 2000, 301). The passage of the Housing and Community Development Act mandated a decrease in federal government funding for the construction of public housing and gave state and local governments more control and more participation in the process of dispersing concentrated poverty (ibid, 301). Moreover, the passage of the Act shifted the burden of constructing affordable housing from the public sector, to the private sector. With increased opportunities for private affordable housing development, non-profit housing developers were well-poised to construct affordable, safe and sanitary housing for low-income families.

During the 1980s, the federal government decreased funding intended for the construction of public housing for low-income families, forcing non-profit housing developers to seek financing elsewhere (von Hoffman 1996, 438). In the mid 1980s many community development corporations transformed themselves into non-profit housing developers and the primary agents of inner city revitalization through the construction of new, affordable housing with the success of projects in some of the most blighted and impoverished neighborhoods in the United States (Vidal 1995, 209). Today, a considerable portion of community development corporations are actively involved in the construction of affordable housing, and rely heavily on professional and technical

expertise, with an increased focus on resident participation in the neighborhood planning process (Stoutland 1999, 200).

2.2. The Role of Non-profit Housing Developers.

In the United States today, there are over 2,000 non-profit housing developers actively involved in the construction of affordable housing in inner city neighborhoods, and in the formation and implementation of housing policy in inner city neighborhoods (Keyes, Schwartz, Vidal and Bratt 1996, 206). For many of the non-profit housing developers, the construction of affordable, safe and sanitary housing for low-income families is not solely a matter of social consciousness, but a vehicle in which to stabilize declining neighborhoods in desperate need of investment and to stimulate demand for housing in all price ranges (Ding and Knapp 2003, 704-706; Vidal 1995, 204-205).

Most non-profit housing developers are extensions of community development corporations, neighborhood interest groups, or a collection of business owners organizing to preserve neighborhood interests (Vidal 1995, 204). Non-profit housing developers are typically located in the neighborhoods in which they construct housing and are also often times involved in non-development activities such as neighborhood building and organizing, advocating neighborhood interests and social services as well (Walker 1993, 371). Most non-profit housing developer firms operate with a median budget of \$700,000 and a median staff of seven; with the exception of a larger non-profit housing developers such as Habitat for Humanity which operates with a larger budget and a larger staff due to experience (Walker 1993, 383). Although a number of non-profit housing

developers are active in the construction of affordable housing units and the revitalization of inner city neighborhoods, and are quite successful, many still face barriers to the production of affordable housing as a result of limited funding and limited experience in the construction of affordable housing units (Walker 1993, 389-391).

CHAPTER 3

A HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT IN ADAIR PARK

This chapter provides insight into the history of the neighborhood and presents the inspiration for the development of Adair Park, the period of racial transition and decline and the present state of neighborhood affairs. Early Adair Park featured a variety of housing styles to include Bungalow, Craftsman, English Revival Vernacular, Folk Victorian and Queen Anne. The Bungalow and Craftsman styles are the two most popular styles and closely resemble homes common to the West End neighborhood. Homes in early Adair Park were designed specifically to appeal to the white middle class purchaser. As a result of racial segregation and the emergence of a post-industrial society from the 1960s to 1980s, the neighborhood declined; however, pockets of the neighborhood are slowly, but surely revitalizing. This chapter establishes the architectural and historical context residents of Adair Park seek to preserve and also establishes the pressing need for continued neighborhood revitalization. Figure 1 provides a reference point for Adair Park in relationship to the Atlanta central business district and adjacent neighborhoods.¹ Figure 2 provides the boundaries for the Adair Park neighborhood analyzed for this study.

¹ The Adair Park Vicinity Map was reproduced using Bing Maps created by Microsoft Corporation in 2010.

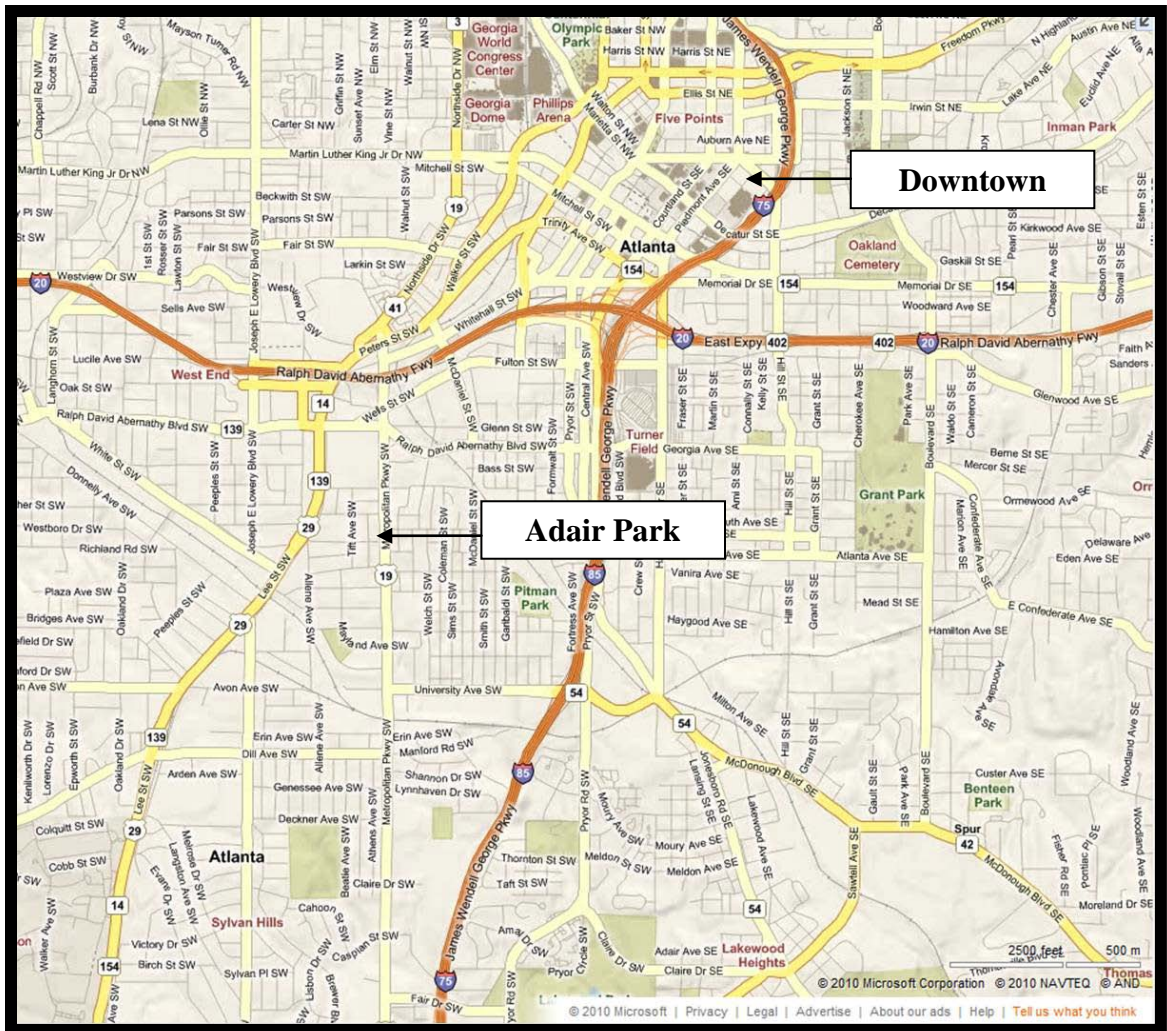


Figure 1: Adair Park Vicinity Map.

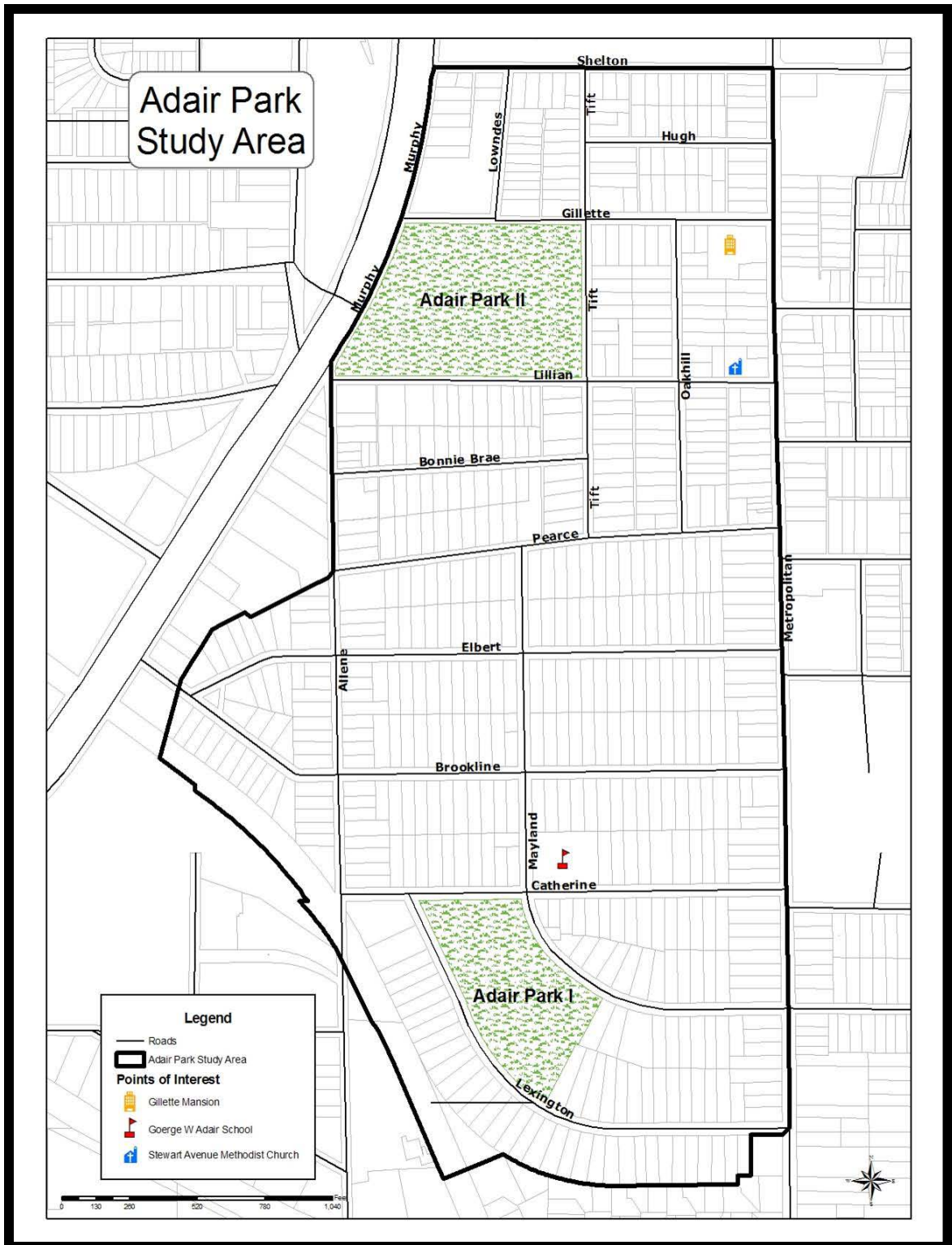


Figure 2: Adair Park Study Area Boundaries Map.

3.1. Early Adair Park.

The neighborhood layout of Adair Park replicates the aesthetics and neighborhood patterns of the park suburbs George Washington Adair visited and became quite fond of in northern cities, including the Romantic suburbs of Llewellyn in New Jersey and Riverside in Illinois (City of Atlanta, 2010). Figures 3 and 4 on the following pages offer excellent examples of the early architecture in Adair Park. The Gillette Mansion, Figure 3, was constructed during 1892-1894 and gracefully illustrates the Victorian style and the middle class image the neighborhood sought to project.

The Adair brothers carefully subdivided lots in the neighborhood, in which lot widths at the street were fifty feet and the depth of the lot was 200 feet. The Adair brothers carefully designed the homes, typically with two bedrooms and a covered, unscreened front porch extending for the entire length of the street façade. The front doors were constructed from wood, and were religiously oriented towards the street. Like Llewellyn and Riverside, the landscaping in the front yards was informal and natural. The foundations for the homes were typically constructed from brick or stone and the siding for houses were finished in brick, stone or wood clapboard.

Porches provided for early Adair Park homes were traditionally unscreened and open, featuring depths not less than ten feet. They are connected with the sidewalk along the enfronting street with steps or stoops, and a paved walkway consistent with the design and materials of the sidewalk. Chimneys and windows were also important elements in the design of homes in Adair Park, as the chimneys were constructed at grade, generally

in brick; and the larger windows were vertical in proportion and arranged horizontally along the façade oriented towards the street.

The rapid development of Adair Park coincided with the housing construction boom in Atlanta from 1903-1911 because of the efforts of Congress to increase the rates of homeownership and a significant rise in incomes and the increased capability of middle class homebuyers to purchase residences inspired by the architecture and the design of residences in upper middle class suburban enclaves such as Llewellyn and Riverside (Lands 2009, 110). As the neighborhood continued to develop, the George Washington Elementary School which is now abandoned, was constructed in 1912 in the center of the neighborhood and a park was completed in 1916 (City of Atlanta, 2010). The Brookline Club was established also during this time to develop a sense of community and to help new members of the neighborhood to become acquainted with their neighbors, according to one of the charter members, Mrs. Agnew, a neighborhood resident (City of Atlanta, 2010). By the year 1922, most of the land in Adair Park was developed, and included two churches, a park, and a school. Historical records from 1925 indicate most of the residents in Adair Park were primarily middle class, white, and employed as salesmen, store clerks and managers, contractors, engineers, policemen, firemen, mechanics and railroad employees which was consistent with the vision of the Adair brothers (City of Atlanta, 2010).

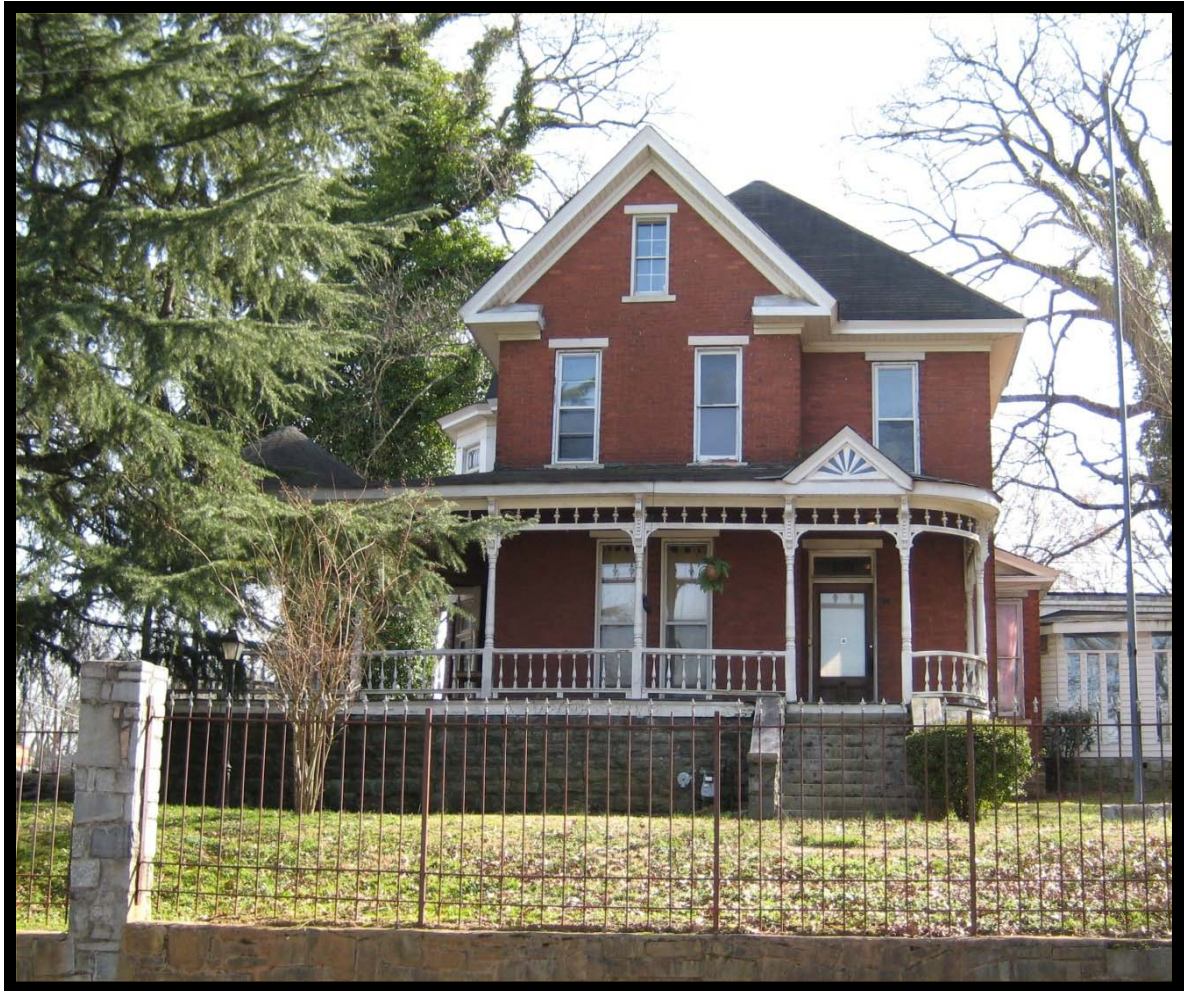


Figure 3: Gillette Mansion, an Example of the Victorian Architectural Style.



Figure 4: An Example of the Craftsman Architectural Style.

3.2. Racial Transition and Decline in Adair Park.²

Commencing in the 1940s, the members of the black elite and professional classes moved to unsettled areas to the south and the west of the Atlanta central business district and this movement heightened in the 1950s and 1960s as incomes rose with the conclusion of World War II and the success of the Civil Rights Movement (Weiss 2003, 143). Similar to many other middle class white neighborhoods in the United States during this time period, Adair Park also underwent racial transition from being a predominately white middle class neighborhood, to a predominately black middle class neighborhood (Bayor 1988, 5-6).

By the end of the 1960s, many members of the black middle class in Adair Park moved to other areas farther to the south and the west as homes were constructed on larger lots and offered families the opportunity to live the suburban dream. As a result of the exodus of the black middle class from Adair Park, the neighborhood declined. The decline of the neighborhood resulted in the founding of *Adair Park Today, Incorporated*, a community development corporation incorporated in 1976 with the desire to improve the quality of life and the desirability of the neighborhood; however, even with the efforts of *Adair Park Today, Incorporated*, the neighborhood continued to decline. By the 1980s

² The data collected for the tables in this section were compiled from Summary Files 1 of the 1990 and the 2000 Census Bureau, the Atlanta Comprehensive Development Plan and the Atlanta Neighborhood Change Report. The “Other” population category designates Asians, Hispanics and people of two or more races.

Adair Park had transformed into a predominately black, working class neighborhood; and like Atlanta, experienced a decline in population evidenced in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1: Total Population and Percentage Change, Adair Park, Atlanta, 1980 - 2000.

Year	Population	Percentage Change
1980	1,868	----
1990	1,709	-8.5%
2000	2,230	31%

TABLE 2: Total Population and Percentage Change, Atlanta, 1980 - 2000.

Year	Population	Percentage Change
1980	425,022	----
1990	394,017	-7.9%
2000	416,474	5.7%

The racial composition of the Adair Park neighborhood closely resembles the racial composition of Atlanta, as evidenced in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6. Of great interest, is the decline in the black population overall for Atlanta since the 1980s, yet the total number of blacks residing in Adair Park increased (See Tables 3 and 4). Also of great interest, is the rapid increase in the members of the Asian community in Adair Park in 2000. The dramatic increase in the Asian population, while difficult to explain, not only

suggests the neighborhood is becoming increasingly diverse, racially, like that of Atlanta; but perhaps some of the members of the Asian community who work in the neighborhood, or within close proximity to the neighborhood, find Adair Park an attractive neighborhood in which to reside.

TABLE 3: Racial Composition, Adair Park, Atlanta, 1980 - 2000

Ethnicity	1980	1990	2000
White and Other	374	137	213
Black	1,494	1,572	1,636
Asian	0	0	381

TABLE 4: Racial Composition, Atlanta, 1980 - 2000

Ethnicity	1980	1990	2000
White	136,500	122,327	138,352
Black	279,323	264,262	255,689
Other	9,199	7,428	22,433

TABLE 5: Racial Composition by Percentage, Adair Park, Atlanta, 1980 - 2000.

Ethnicity	1980	1990	2000
White and Other	20%	8%	9%
Black	80%	92%	73%
Asian	0%	0%	18%

TABLE 6: Racial Composition by Percentage, Atlanta, 1980 - 2000.

Ethnicity	1980	1990	2000
White	32.1%	31.5%	33.2%
Black	65.8%	67.1%	61.4%
Other	2.1%	1.4%	5.4%

3.3. Adair Park Today.³

Although the population of the neighborhood increased by thirty-one percent from 1990 to 2000 (See Table 1), there are still pockets in Adair Park neighborhood showing visible signs of decline and physical decay. Some residents attribute the decline and physical decay to the high number of vacant buildings. The vacancy rate for the neighborhood has been consistently higher than that of Atlanta since 1980, as presented in Table 7. *Adair Park Today, Incorporated*, a community development corporation, is quite active in neighborhood development and revitalization efforts, and has engaged in efforts to reach out to the Atlanta Department of Planning and Community Development and in particular, the Bureau of Code Compliance, through forging relationships with key staff members in the efforts to eradicate inhabitable and unsafe residences, enforce zoning regulations and to improve the desirability of the neighborhood. Adair Park was designated as a national historic district in 2001 and the City of Atlanta adopted an

³ The data collected for the tables in this section was compiled from Summary Files 1 of the 1990 and the 2000 Census Bureau and the Atlanta Comprehensive Development Plan.

overlay zoning district for the neighborhood for historical preservation and to encourage redevelopment and increased private sector investment (City of Atlanta, 2010).

TABLE 7: Occupancy Status of Residential Properties Adair Park and Atlanta, 1980 - 2000.

Housing Units	1980	1990	2000
<i>Adair Park</i>			
Occupied	87%	80%	86%
Vacant	13%	20%	14%
<i>The City of Atlanta</i>			
Occupied	90.9%	85.2%	88.2%
Vacant	9.1%	14.8%	11.8%

TABLE 8: Occupancy Status of Residential Properties by Number, Adair Park and Atlanta, 1980 - 2000.

Housing units	1980	1990	2000
<i>Adair Park</i>			
Occupied	612	526	683
Vacant	89	132	113
<i>The City of Atlanta</i>			
Occupied	162,553	155,752	169,201
Vacant	16,201	27,002	21,715

CHAPTER 4

TENSION IN ADAIR PARK

The tension between residents of Adair Park and the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity emerged from the perception the construction of affordable housing was inconsistent with the architecture of existing homes. In response, concerned neighborhood members implored members of the planning staff at the Bureau of Planning and Community Development to act in favor of preserving the architectural and historical character of Adair Park. The planning staff met with neighborhood members to address concerns surrounding the perceptions of incompatible housing and the two sides drafted the Adair Park Overlay District. The purpose of this chapter is to not only examine the desires of the residents to preserve the architectural and historical character of the neighborhood, but to explore where those desires are rooted, as well as to examine the desires of the Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity to construct affordable housing in Adair Park.

4.1. The Neighborhood and Architecture.

For many residents in Adair Park, the architecture of the existing homes not only establishes an identity for the neighborhood, but it also unites the neighborhood. In particular, Teague Buchanan, a four year resident and the current president of Adair Park Today, Incorporated, commented “Architecture is our identity, it is historic, and it is one of the things that really makes this neighborhood unique to Atlanta.” Lifelong Adair Park resident Jeanne Mills agrees with Buchanan. Mills commented, “We do not have an

issue with Habitat for Humanity constructing affordable housing, as there is an obvious demand; what we do have an issue with, is the design, quality and quantity of Habitat for Humanity Housing.”

Both Buchanan and Mills positively identify with the architectural and historical character of the Adair Park neighborhood. Both pointed out perceived incompatibilities with the architecture of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity housing and the architecture of the existing housing stock. In particular, Buchanan and Mills emphasized the incompatibility with the length and the width of front porches, the design and arrangement of windows and the materials used to construct the housing. It appears that the architectural criticisms of the housing constructed by the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity are rooted in middle class aspirations and values. To residents such as Buchanan and Mills, it is much more than just the architecture and the quality of housing construction, but it also about the inhabitant of the home. In essence, for residents in Adair Park such as Buchanan and Mills, architecture that is consistent with that of the existing housing stock will not only attract residents of a certain socio-economic status, but it will also help in neighborhood revitalization efforts as well.

Figure 5, illustrates an example of a home constructed by the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity, in which burglar bars are not present and do not conceal the trimwork of the window. In Figure 6, however, burglar bars are present and conceal the architectural detailing home. This raises a question of the significance of the architectural significance of the neighborhood if architecturally and historically significant features are concealed from view, in that what is the purpose of stressing architectural detailing if the detailing is not visible.



Figure 5: An Atlanta Habitat for Humanity Home.



Figure 6: An Existing Home in Adair Park.

4.2. Habitat for Humanity and the Will to do Good.

“Habitat for Humanity works in partnership with God and people everywhere, from all walks of life, to develop communities with people in need by building and renovating houses so that there are decent houses in decent communities in which every person can experience God’s love and can live and grow into all that God intends.” (Habitat for Humanity)

Founded by Millard and Linda Fuller in 1976, Habitat for Humanity seeks to address issues of poverty housing throughout the world, through the construction of affordable housing. The concept of Habitat for Humanity, according to its website, evolved from the visitation of Millard and Linda Fuller to Koinonia Farm in 1965, an interracial Christian community in south Georgia founded by Clarence Jordan, a Civil Rights era activist in 1942. The concept for the Habitat for Humanity organization expanded from capital donated across the United States to construct forty-two housing units on half-acre sites in Koinonia Farm in 1968. Since its founding in 1976, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has been heavily involved with the efforts of Habitat for Humanity, and has brought much visibility to non-profit housing developer (Habitat for Humanity, 2010). Since its founding in 1976, Habitat for Humanity through its more than 2,250 affiliates has constructed over 300,000 housing units, providing safe and affordable shelter for over 1,500,000 persons throughout the world. The affiliates are not only responsible for the construction of housing units, but the affiliates are also

responsible for securing volunteer labor, selecting building sites and selecting families to house and support (Habitat for Humanity, 2010).

The mission statement guiding the housing efforts of Habitat for Humanity is founded in the desire to construct affordable, “safe and sanitary housing for those most in need” (Habitat for Humanity, 2010). The organization’s faith-based construct, the “Economics of Jesus,” Habitat for Humanity leadership believes that constructing housing for low-income families without seeking profit, or interest, will not only magnify the efforts to construct affordable housing, but will also ensure that the future residents will have a safe environment in which to live and become productive members of society (Habitat for Humanity, 2010).

4.2.1. The Atlanta Habitat for Humanity.

As one of the many affiliates of Habitat for Humanity, the Atlanta affiliate is responsible for the construction of more than 1,000 homes since 1983, and is the largest non-profit housing developer constructing single-family homes in the Atlanta metropolitan region (Janney, 2009). The primary mission for the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity is to partner with “working families, sponsors and communities to build affordable, green, quality homes and to provide support services that promote successful home purchase and ownership” (Janney, 2009). Although the Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity mission statement is consistent with that of the larger corporate structure to a considerable extent, except that it appears the focus for the Atlanta affiliate is on increasing home ownership among low-income families as opposed to simply providing

affordable housing based upon the mission statement above. In the mission statement provided for the corporation as a whole, Habitat for Humanity does not specifically mention homeownership as the primary goal, but rather the construction of affordable housing for those without housing to illustrate God's love for all and to ensure adequate, safe and sanitary housing is available to low-income families in need. Syd Janney, Executive Administrative Manager for the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity further supports this point, and stated, "We want to provide quality housing for those in need and to make sure they contribute positively to the neighborhood as homeowners." This conflict in mission statements suggests that perhaps, there is a greater disconnect between construction practices and neighborhood development philosophies regionally and limited communication between Habitat for Humanity leadership and its many affiliates.

Even with the conflict with the corporate mission statement, and perhaps the goals of Habitat for Humanity, the Atlanta affiliate recognizes the importance of constructing affordable, quality and safe homes for low-income families and the need for inner city revitalization. The Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity typically constructs homes in neighborhoods where they can acquire land through purchase or donation, in which there is a significant amount of land in which to construct several homes in the efforts to "create a critical mass of homeowners so that entire neighborhoods show visible signs of revitalization and stability (Janney, 2009). Thusly, as a result of this business strategy, the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity is resigned to the construction of affordable housing in inner-city neighborhoods such as Adair Park because the cost of land is low enough to warrant construction and offers opportunities for construction to illustrate visible signs of neighborhood revitalization and stability. The vast majority of the houses constructed by

the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity are located in the inner city, in neighborhoods such as Adamsville, Oakland City, Peoplestown, Pittsburgh, Summer Hill and the West End (Janney, 2009). This business strategy is critical, in not only ensuring housing costs remain affordable for low-income families in need, but also to ensure the Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity can continue to construct affordable housing.

To qualify as a prospective Atlanta Habitat for Humanity homebuyer, applicants must meet a certain standards, established to include being a first-time homebuyer and to demonstrate good credit, to include no bankruptcies, repossessions or outstanding delinquent balances. If the prospective homebuyer meets the qualifications as provided above and is selected by Habitat for Humanity for a new home, then Habitat for Humanity will enlist financial and construction support from sources such as local faith-based groups, businesses and civic organizations to assist with underwriting the construction of the houses and to supply volunteers to assist in housing construction. In addition, homebuyers are also required to spend minimum of 150 hours participating in the construction of their new homes as well as attending a homeowners' education program as they transition from renters to homeowners (Janney, 2009). The Atlanta affiliate of Habitat for Humanity constructs housing containing three or four bedrooms with a monthly note of \$600 or less, this amount of the monthly note is contingent upon the financial support received from local faith-based groups, business and civic institutions (Janney, 2009).

4.2.2. Characteristics of an Atlanta Habitat for Humanity Home.

The exterior finishing materials used to construct Habitat for Humanity houses are primarily a combination of aluminum, metal, vinyl and wood. The use of other, more expensive exterior finishing materials, to include brick and stone would not only increase the cost to construct housing, but would significantly hinder the ability of Habitat for Humanity to construct housing at a scale beneficial not only to the organization, but the neighborhood as well. Moreover, the use of exterior finishing materials such as brick, Hardi-plank siding, stone and wood would increase the cost of construction, and thusly the price of the home, resulting in an increase in price which would be passed on to the family dwelling in the house. Most homes are constructed on foundations comprised of a combination of brick piers and lattice as illustrated in Figure 5. Front doors are primarily constructed from plastic and vinyl materials and windows, although vertical in proportion, are not arranged horizontally.

The homes constructed by the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity are simple in appearance and design, and attempt to emulate to a considerable extent, the Craftsman architectural style. However, the homes still lack key design features to include the brick or stone foundations, front porches extending for the entire length of the street oriented façade and front doors comprised of wood. While many of the features common to the Adair Park neighborhood, if included in the design of an Atlanta Habitat for Humanity home, would increase the price of a home, there appears to be a push by Habitat for Humanity leadership to improve the appearance and the quality of construction. The *Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses* was produced in 2007 for the many affiliates of Habitat for Humanity to articulate and emphasize the importance of housing construction from a neighborhood context. This book provides details for the construction of

architectural styles to unique to the various regions of the United States and appropriate building materials, glazing treatments and other design considerations to ensure neighborhood compatibility. Staff members at the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity were unaware of its publication and have not constructed homes according to the standards provided in the *Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses* according to Janney.

4.3. Perceptions of Affordable Housing in Adair Park.

While some inner city neighborhoods such as Adair Park are not necessarily concerned with the impact affordable housing will have on neighborhood loyalty and neighborhood stability, as Mills and Buchanan imply earlier, some residents strongly believe that in architecturally and historically significant neighborhoods such as Adair Park, affordable housing units should complement the existing housing stock. Buchanan commented, “Obviously the local Habitat for Humanity affiliate has a very well executed model for housing construction and fundraising strategy, but the housing feels detached.”

Derrick Duckworth, a real estate agent and active in the progression and development of Adair Park, commented, “It is obvious, you can tell the difference between a house built by Habitat for Humanity and a house which embraces the historical element of Adair Park as the houses are not built with the same materials or in the same quality.” Duckworth went on to state that the houses really do not help with the appearance of the neighborhood or to attract new residents.

Leslie Canaan, senior planner with the Atlanta Department of Planning and Community Development asserted, “I believe the residents for Adair Park became concerned with Habitat for Humanity’s design and quality of housing when they saw the construction of housing in neighboring Oakland City.” According to Canaan, neighboring Oakland City shares commonalities with Adair Park, to include historic homes and physical decay caused by deindustrialization, raising fears that the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity efforts to construct affordable housing would not only be incompatible, but would also negatively impact the historic character of the

neighborhood. Canaan further commented that of great concern for residents in Adair Park were the front porches. Residents believed, in particular, according to Canaan, that ramps to the front porch visible from the street violated the architectural character of the neighborhood and should face the rear. Design considerations such as these residents believed would diminish the historical character of Adair Park.

Mills commented on the porches, “We are concerned about the location of the porches, and in particular, the ramps for the porches as required by the Americans with Disabilities Act; porches with ramps look awkward and out of place in Adair Park.” The concern of Mills and other residents of the neighborhood about the location of ramps to the porch, as well as the design of the porches, had as much to do with the look of the house, as it did with their desire for future residents to interact with the more established members of the neighborhood. Other key design features absent from the construction of homes with the potential to diminish the historical character of the neighborhood included noticeable decreases in the length, as well as width in the front porch, the absence of informal landscaping and the quality and type of exterior finishing materials.

Interestingly enough, residents of Adair Park do not perceive the increasing presence of infill housing as a threat to the architectural character of the neighborhood, even though a considerable portion of the newer homes neglect traditional design standards. Both for-profit real estate developers and investors, seizing on the growing popularity of in-town living and the prospect of the construction of the Atlanta Beltline, believe Adair Park and other neighborhoods in the immediate vicinity will undergo rapid gentrification and provide a high returns on their investment.

The noticeable absence of critical design elements to save on costs in the construction of housing by the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity suggests the organization is challenged by two conflicts, the first, being architecture and design considerations sensitive to the context of the neighborhood, and the second, a conflict between the business model and neighborhood stabilization. In their efforts to construct affordable housing in Adair Park, the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity failed to consider sensitivity in architecture and design in their homes. Residents of Adair Park were mostly concerned with the location and the design of porches.

Residents believed porches were not only an integral component of homes in Adair Park, but that the porches also permitted informal and natural surveillance of public space, while architecturally unifying the neighborhood. However, most houses in the Atlanta metropolitan area, and the United States, would violate this concern, as ramps are not provided for most houses. Still, this comment is quite interesting, and merits some discussion in that some residents such as Mills are perhaps too critical of the design features of affordable housing units in the neighborhood. The Atlanta Habitat for Humanity must construct housing at a cost that is not only reasonable for them, but reasonable for the future homeowner as well. It appears, that although a number of residents say they are open to affordable housing, it appears that with the criticisms of architecture offered so far, quite the opposite is true.

Habitat for Humanity also failed to recognize the concerns of the neighborhood, which implies the organization failed to involve Adair Park residents in their efforts to construct affordable housing. Support for affordable housing is critical, regardless of the location or the socio-economic status of the neighborhood. At the crux of Habitat for

Humanity's mission statement, is the desire to successfully transform inner city neighborhoods ravaged by the effects of deindustrialization and class and racial segregation through the construction of affordable housing.

4.4. The Resolution and Neighborhood Preservation.

According to Buchanan and Mills, the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity and members of Adair Park did not frequently interact in the planning processes for constructing affordable, new housing for low-income families, which is quite interesting, given the fact Habitat for Humanity is a non-profit housing developer committed to neighborhood rebuilding. The Atlanta Habitat for Humanity chose not to discuss the incompatibility of housing in the Adair Park neighborhood, and instead, chose to focus on their success in constructing affordable, safe and sanitary housing for low-income families in adjacent neighborhoods during the interview. The inability of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity in acknowledging the concerns from Adair Park residents in regards to the construction of housing perceived as being incompatible with the architecture of the neighborhood, demonstrated a significant disconnect between neighborhood building and the mission statement for both the Atlanta affiliate and Habitat for Humanity. However, it should also be noted that several of the neighborhood informant contacts spoke passionately about the preservation of the architecture of the neighborhood, and when prodded in regards to a compromise in the architectural standards, could not offer any architectural features that they would be willing to compromise.

4.4.1. The Historic Adair Park Overlay District.

Residents of Adair Park strongly believed the best avenue in which to preserve the architectural character of the neighborhood was to approach the City of Atlanta and strengthen the architecture regulations. In a telephone interview with Doug Young, Public Information Officer with the Atlanta Department of Planning and Community Development, concerned residents in the Adair Park neighborhood approached the City to draft and then adopt an overlay district. Young commented, “We did not approach Adair Park about an overlay district or architecture standards for the neighborhood; rather the residents approached the City and requested an overlay district.” Young stated that the Atlanta Department of Planning and Community Development worked with neighborhood residents to draft language for an overlay district that would preserve the architecture and history of the neighborhood.

Overlay districts are often utilized as zoning tools by planning departments to impose additional property development standards, generally with an increased emphasis on architecture and land uses standards, to preserve the character or history of a corridor, district or neighborhood. The Historic Adair Park Overlay District, adopted in May 2007, contains three districts, *Residential, Transitional Commercial and Transitional Industrial* (See Appendix D, The Historic Adair Park Overlay District). The primary focus of the overlay district, however, is to facilitate the construction of residentially compatible housing, and the City of Atlanta, in the efforts to induce residentially compatible housing, requires that prior to the construction of any new building or residence, a certificate of appropriateness be acquired from the Urban Design

Commission. According to the Adair Park Overlay District, Section 16-20I.006, paragraph (1), a certificate of appropriateness is required when proposing to modify the exterior appearance of any portion of a structure, the erection of any new structure visible from the public right-of-way or the demolition of any historically contributing structure in the neighborhood.

The primary component of this overlay is the compatibility rule, a method of requiring that alterations and new construction are sensitive and sympathetic to existing elements of design, scale and general character of the district with particular attention to the immediate environment constituting a particular block. The overlay district was established to emphasize the following: building façades, windows and doors, foundations, chimneys, roofs, porches, fences, walls and ornaments (See Appendix D, Section 16-20I.0006, paragraph (4)(k).

Overlay districts such as the one in Adair Park has the power to discourage non-profit housing developers from constructing affordable housing in certain areas. These architectural standards and urban design requirements will increase the costs of new housing construction to such an extent that it is no longer affordable for low-income and moderate-income families. Moreover, the adoption of an overlay district and the requirement to obtain a certificate of appropriateness will almost certainly ensure increased public scrutiny, which will certainly delay the construction of affordable housing for those in need, not to mention the ability of Habitat for Humanity to construct in bulk in an effort to efficiently allocate financial and volunteer resources. Thusly, Habitat for Humanity and other non-profit housing developers must carefully re-evaluate

their business models, as well as their housing construction processes in inner city neighborhoods such as Adair Park.

Still, even with the adoption of the overlay district, some residents do not feel it is enough. Derrick Duckworth, commented, “I think the overlay district is a step in the right direction, but it is still not enough.” Mills agrees with Duckworth and commented, “The overlay district was not really what we wanted, as it leaves a lot to interpretation and it is not really enforced.” To a degree, both Duckworth and Mills are correct, in their assessment of the overlay district, in that the overlay district fails to provide definite dimensions for the construction of new housing, and leaves much to interpretation.

Both Duckworth and Mills discussed that the City of Atlanta is not doing an adequate job in enforcing the standards of the overlay district, as new homes are still being constructed and fail to respond to the architectural elements of the neighborhood. Duckworth’s and Mills’ perspectives are well taken, as the overlay district fails to establish standards for appropriate setbacks and building heights, and rather hinges on vague architectural regulations for building setbacks and heights, which is quite different from other historic overlay districts, in which building heights and setbacks are carefully stated. Even with the adoption of the overlay district, new housing starts have been sporadic in the neighborhood and the full effect of the overlay district has yet to be tested as applications under the new regulations have not been received thus far which may be attributed to the economic recession or the lack of interest amongst builders, for-profit and non-profit, to construct housing in the neighborhood.

Young stated that the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity has not constructed a new house in the neighborhood since the adoption of the Historic Adair Park Overlay District.

The fact that the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity has yet to construct a new home under the regulations of the Adair Park Overlay District is interesting, considering the overlay district does contain a provision for financial hardship exemption, Section 16-20I.006, paragraph (2), in order to allow for economic development, to encourage neighborhood revitalization and to prevent the displacement of residents.

4.4.2. The *Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses*.

In response to increased scrutiny as it relates to the architecture of affordable housing, Habitat for Humanity produced a *Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses* (Habitat for Humanity 2007, 1). In the book, Habitat for Humanity acknowledges the shortcomings of its past and asserts, “Instead of building mixed-income neighborhoods, we have built single-income subdivisions isolated from each other. While nobly motivated, much of the low cost housing built in many communities has been clearly identifiable as different from other housing” (Habitat for Humanity 2007, 1). The recognition by Habitat for Humanity of the noticeable architectural differences between the houses they construct and those of the existing houses signals, a major shift in the company’s business model. The *Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses* is divided into six distinct sections and each section seeks to address the construction of housing from the context of the neighborhood in terms of development patterns, housing types, architecture and landscaping.

Habitat for Humanity’s recognition of the neighborhood from architectural and urban design contexts signals a major shift in how the non-profit housing developer will

construct housing in inner city, and even suburban neighborhoods in the future. Moreover, the recognition of the neighborhood as an important element in the construction of affordable housing may expand the opportunities of Habitat for Humanity and other non-profit housing developers to construct housing in suburban neighborhoods once fervently opposed to housing construction for low-income and moderate-income families in fear families in need of affordable housing breed a culture of poverty (Jackson 1985, 229). Housing constructed by Habitat for Humanity in accordance with the architecture considerations of the *Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses* have yet to be physically manifested in Adair Park or other inner city Atlanta neighborhoods at this time according to Janney.

4.4.3. Adair Park and New Housing Construction.

As a predominately low-income neighborhood, Adair Park residents not only recognize the historical significance of their neighborhood, but the potential of the neighborhood, as well, to return to its middle class roots of years past. Mills asserted, “I become very excited when I talk about Adair Park, this is where I have lived my entire life and I want Adair Park become a neighborhood for nice families.” Mills’ assertion suggests the desire of Adair Park residents for new housing construction which will bring in quality families and complement the neighborhood architecturally. However, Young believes that when the economic recession subsides, housing starts in the Adair Park neighborhood will increase due to its close proximity to Atlanta’s central business district and the future Atlanta Beltline, a massive project in which a network of public parks,

multi-use trails and transit along a twenty-two mile abandoned rail corridor encircling forty-five inner-city Atlanta neighborhoods (Atlanta Beltline, 2010).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Residents of Adair Park recognized their ability to organize around a common goal, the architectural preservation of their neighborhood and have since become quite active in the appearance and the architecture of new housing, as well as the older housing. In their quest of goodwill, the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity, unfortunately, experienced a conflict with the interests of residents in Adair Park to preserve the architectural heritage of their neighborhood and their quest to construct affordable housing in distressed inner city neighborhoods. Habitat for Humanity, and other non-profit housing developers, if they want to win the support of residents in not only inner city neighborhoods, but suburban neighborhoods as well, must consider the architecture and appearance of their housing to ensure compatibility. From this study, three concepts emerge: the notion inner city residents perceive quality architecture as a form of neighborhood unity, middle class aspirations exists in low-income neighborhoods and the notion that non-profit housing developers should construct affordable housing from a neighborhood context.

5.1. Inner City Neighborhoods and Architecture.

In Adair Park, a neighborhood plagued by the vestiges of deindustrialization and racial segregation, the one construct seeming to unite the residents of the neighborhood is the architecture of the homes, and in particular, front porches. The front porches, it

appears from Mills' comments, suggests front porches are not only an architectural feature further establishing an identity of the neighborhood and uniting the residents of neighborhood, but that it is also an avenue in which residents seek to establish social norms for the neighborhood. For neighborhoods such as Adair Park ravaged by years of economic and social isolation and physical decay, residents look for social constructs or other features in the built environment in which to rally around and to establish commonalities. In Adair Park, constructs such as social networks and social norms are fragile, but the architecture of the neighborhood is visible and far reaching. The residents of the neighborhood embrace affordable housing, as non-profit housing developers such as Habitat for Humanity, when constructing affordable housing units in neighborhoods such as Adair Park, increase the rates of home ownership, and in the process, help to stabilize the neighborhood housing market, thereby enhancing neighborhood desirability. Residents of Adair Park, in addition to embracing the housing efforts of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity believed that through the construction of housing consistent with the existing housing stock, new residents would feel welcomed and apart of the community.

It is in the vein of this thought process that, to a certain extent, residents are loyal to the neighborhood and associate closely and positively with the architecture of the neighborhood, hence why many would not compromise on the architectural standards and were willing to organize in opposition to preserve the architecture of Adair Park. Although quite difficult to define, neighborhood loyalty is generally defined as a function of racial cohesion, high or stable property values and high quality public services (Ding and Knapp 2003, 704-708; Wilson and Taub 2006, 174-175). Although the

neighborhood does possess a high degree of racial cohesion, the property values are low and the quality of public services is not high, given the challenges residents face in enforcing the zoning code.

As a result of increased focus in the architecture of new homes in Adair Park, the property values will not only rise, but it will also further restrict the ability of non-profit housing developers such as Habitat for Humanity to construct affordable housing in these neighborhoods. Although the architecture standards will improve the visual quality of the neighborhood, and compatibility, these standards can also discourage non-profit housing developers from constructing new housing, as a result of increases in the costs to construct homes, in particular, building materials. This presents a significant concern for neighborhoods such as Adair Park, as before for-profit developers will consider new construction, the housing market in the neighborhood must be stabilized first, and in many cases, non-profit housing developers are the first entities to enter into high-risk areas to construct new housing. Moreover, additional architectural regulations, such as those in Adair Park, can increase the cost of housing to such an extent, that it is no longer affordable to those in need of housing.

These are concerns residents in Adair Park failed to consider in their quest to preserve the architectural heritage of the neighborhood. In Adair Park, architecture and urban design standards are psychologically linked with neighborhood unity. Unlike suburban neighborhoods with strong social networks and highly developed sets of social norms, Adair Park does not possess a strong social network and set of social norms in which to forge neighborhood identity and thusly, relies on the architecture and historic character of the neighborhood to forge an identity.

5.2. The Forces of Change and Middle Class Aspirations.

Residents of Adair Park recognize their future is closely linked to the construction of new housing. As the neighborhood enters a period of gentrification brought on by the future construction of the Atlanta Beltline and the close proximity to the Atlanta central business district, residents view change as not only inevitable and unavoidable, but as a positive. Residents also recognize that architecture standards must be in place to guide future housing development efforts, to include affordable housing as well. However, many residents are fiercely determined not to forsake the architecture and urban design standards which unites the neighborhood as one. As an example, in January 2007, *Adair Park Today, Incorporated* members met to discuss the construction of a new house to feature three bedrooms. Members discussed the construction of the housing at great length with the builder to ensure that the house would have a front porch and porch posts similar in design to the front porches of other houses along the street, in addition to a chimney, and the builder would have to sell the house through a licensed real estate agent. Buchanan commented, “These homes are exquisite pieces of the Craftsman and Victorian styles and offer an excellent reflection of the middle class dream.”

In as much as the criticisms of the architecture of affordable housing units constructed by the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity were rooted in the desire to preserve the architectural and historical significance of the neighborhood, they were also rooted in the desire of the neighborhood to aspire to a middle class status. In each of the criticisms of the affordable housing units offered by neighborhood residents interviewed in this research, many did not provide examples of what the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity did

correctly, architecturally. The attitudes of residents in Adair Park closely resembles the attitudes many middle class and wealthy neighborhoods hold towards affordable housing. Neighborhood members believed affordable housing incompatible with the existing architecture of the neighborhood not only diminished the architectural integrity of the neighborhood, but also encourage more renters than homeowners, lower property values and an increase in criminal activity and code enforcement concerns. Thusly, the tension between Adair Park residents and the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity was more than just a conflict over affordable housing and appropriate architectural provisions, but it was also about aspirations of neighborhood members to be perceived as middle class. However, in recognizing the aspirations of neighborhood members to achieve middle class status, the neighborhood members must cooperate with the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity, as the non-profit developer is the only entity constructing homes in Adair Park currently. In the efforts to achieve middle class status, neighborhood members must recognize that the housing situation in the neighborhood must be stabilized and revitalized, and assistance from non-profit housing developers such as the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity is vital.

5.3. Constructing Affordable Housing in a Neighborhood Context.

As it relates to Habitat for Humanity and other non-profit housing developers, affordable housing for low-income families cannot be constructed without insight and sound understanding of the context of the neighborhood, architecturally as well as socially. Oscar Newman, an acclaimed architect deriding the architecture and the construction of public housing during the 1960s, argued the design and physical form of

housing has a considerable affect on not only the ability of residents to provide informal, natural surveillance but also on the psychology of neighborhood residents (Newman 1996, 23-27).

The physical form of affordable housing constructed by the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity did more harm than good, in that the housing was not only incompatible with the existing architecture of the neighborhood, but the housing, psychologically and physically, failed to concretely reinforce to their residents, that they were members of the Adair Park neighborhood. This statement should not be construed to suggest that architecturally compatible housing is more important than the construction of affordable shelter, rather this statement intends to suggest that architecture is just as important as the construction of shelter. If the secondary goal of non-profit housing developers includes stabilizing the residential base in low-income neighborhoods, then certain architectural provisions must be considered to ensure new residents perceive their housing not only fits within the context of the neighborhood, but that they do as well. Moreover, in the quest of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity to bring goodwill and noble intentions to Adair Park, the organization failed to involve residents of Adair Park in the planning and construction efforts. The inability of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity to successfully involve residents of Adair Park in the planning process not only hampered their efforts to construct affordable housing, but also further documented the inability of non-profit housing developers to include neighborhood stakeholders in planning discussions.

The future construction of affordable housing is closely linked to perceptions of architecture, construction and quality of housing, regardless of neighborhood location as evidenced in this study. If non-profit housing developers are to continue to provide

affordable housing for low-income and moderate-income families across the United States, then their business model must change and it must address neighborhood residents as stakeholders as well. The costs for constructing affordable, safe and sanitary housing must be considered, and the appearance and the architecture of the home must be equally considered as well. As architecture and urban design considerations in the construction of low-income and moderate-income housing increase in rigidity, Habitat for Humanity will need to adapt not only in terms of business survival, but also in terms of providing housing for those most in need, low-income and moderate-income families.

The business model used by Habitat for Humanity to design and to construct affordable housing is not only rigid, but very inflexible as well, which resulted in the conflict between Adair Park residents and the entity. Thusly, if non-profit housing developers are to succeed in the construction of affordable housing whereas the federal government proved to be inefficient, then future business models and housing construction must demonstrate a clear ability to adapt to the neighborhood context and include members of the neighborhood in the design and the construction of affordable housing. As this research indicates, the issue is not necessarily with the inclusion of affordable housing, nor with the middle class aspirations of low-income neighborhoods, but rather the issue is with the architectural compatibility of the housing and the inclusion of concerned neighborhood residents in the planning process.

APPENDIX A

ADAIR PARK RESIDENT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- (1.) Why do you perceive the architecture of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity to be in conflict with the existing housing?
- (2.) Who were the major backers of the architectural preservation of the neighborhood?
- (3.) In your opinion, what do you think the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity could have done differently in the construction of affordable housing?
- (4.) Did any member of the staff at the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity contact you for your thoughts on the construction of affordable housing units?
- (5.) What architectural features do you most value in Adair Park? Why?
- (6.) What architectural features are desirous of preserving? Why?
- (7.) Do you believe the architectural standards addressed in the Adair Park Overlay District are sufficient for the Adair Park neighborhood?
- (8.) What are the differences between housing constructed by the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity and the architecture of existing housing?

APPENDIX B

ATLANTA HABITAT FOR HUMANITY STAFF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- (1.) What are the typical costs associated with an Atlanta Habitat for Humanity house?
- (2.) How was Adair Park selected for the construction of affordable housing?
- (3.) Were members of the Adair Park neighborhood included in the design and the planning processes?
- (4.) When was the last time the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity constructed a home in Adair Park?
- (5.) Did any member of the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity perceive tension between the neighborhood preservation efforts of Adair Park residents and your mission to construct affordable housing for low-income families in need?
- (6.) Have you attempted to implement any of the standards addressed in A Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses?
- (7.) Are your architects and designers aware of A Pattern Book for Neighborly Houses?

APPENDIX C

PLANNING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STAFF INTERVIEW

QUESTIONS

- (1.) Why did residents of Adair Park approach the City of Atlanta to adopt architectural standards to preserve the historic character of their neighborhood?
- (2.) What design or architectural features did they want to preserve?
- (3.) When was the last time a non-profit housing developer such as the Atlanta Habitat for Humanity constructed a home in Adair Park?
- (4.) In your professional opinion, do you believe the standards adopted by the City of Atlanta for the Adair Park neighborhood hinder or encourage the construction of architecturally affordable housing?

APPENDIX D
THE HISTORIC ADAIR PARK OVERLAY DISTRICT

Chapter 20.I*

Cross reference—Historic preservation program, § 6-4041 et seq.

Sec. 16-20I.001. - Statement of intent.

Sec. 16-20I.002. - Scope of regulations.

Sec. 16-20I.003. - Boundaries.

Sec. 16-20I.004. - Organization.

Sec. 16-20I.005. - General regulations.

Sec. 16-20I.006. - Specific regulations—Residential Subarea I.

Sec. 16-20I.007. - Specific regulations—Transitional Commercial Subarea II.

Sec. 16-20I.008. - Specific regulations—Transitional Industrial Subarea III.

Sec. 16-20I.001. - Statement of intent.

The intent of the regulations for the Adair Park Historic District is as follows:

- (1) To enhance and integrate land use regulations, tailored to the historic character of this district, with existing land use regulations;
- (2) To continue the single- and two-family residential uses in the district;

- (3) To preserve and protect the historic attributes of the built environment of the district;
- (4) To preserve existing landscape features that exhibit or will assist in maintaining significant historic elements;
- (5) To maintain the spatial relationships that now exist between buildings, and between buildings and streets;
- (6) To require that additions and modifications to existing structures reinforce the historic qualities and features of the district;
- (7) To ensure that new development is consistent with the historic character of the district;
- (8) To encourage economic development, neighborhood revitalization and prevention of displacement of residents; and
- (9) To preserve and enhance the important aesthetic appearance of the district so as to substantially promote the public health, safety and welfare.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.001)

Sec. 16-20I.002. - Scope of regulations.

- (a) The existing zoning map and regulations governing all properties within the Adair Park Historic District shall remain in full force and effect. The following zoning regulations shall be overlaid upon, and shall be imposed in addition to, said existing zoning regulations. Whenever the following overlay regulations are at

variance with said existing zoning regulations, the following regulations (chapter 20I) shall apply. All other statutes, rules, regulations, ordinances, or other governmentally adopted regulations pertaining to properties within this district shall continue to apply; and any variance between said other regulations and these overlay district regulations (chapter 20I) shall be governed by the interpretation provision set forth in section 16-20.011(c) of the code of ordinances.

- (b) Except when otherwise explicitly provided, the provisions of chapter 20 of this part shall apply to this district.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.002)

Sec. 16-20I.003. - Boundaries.

The boundaries of the Adair Park Historic District shall be as shown on the official zoning map adopted herewith entitled the "Adair Park Historic District." The district is divided into three (3) subareas, as shown on said official zoning map, which shall be known as:

- (1) The Residential Subarea;
- (2) The Transitional Commercial Subarea; and
- (3) The Transitional Industrial Subarea.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.003)

Sec. 16-20I.004. - Organization.

The overlay zoning regulations for the Adair Park Historic District are composed of two (2) parts. The first part consists of general regulations which apply to all property located within this district. The second part consists of specific regulations that apply to each of the subareas.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.004)

Sec. 16-20I.005. - General regulations.

The following regulations shall apply to all properties within the Adair Park Historic District.

- (1) *The Compatibility Rule:* The compatibility rule is a method of requiring that alterations and new construction are sensitive and sympathetic to existing elements of design, scale and general character of the district with particular attention to the immediate environment constituting a particular block. In accordance with this purpose, the compatibility rule is as follows: "To the maximum extent possible, the element in question, such as roof form or architectural trim, shall substantially match that which predominates on that block. When elements are quantifiable, such as building height or floor heights, they shall equal the statistical average of all like elements of all structures of like

use in that block." Those elements to which the compatibility rule applies are specified in regulations by reference to "compatibility rule."

- (2) *Variances*: The urban design commission shall have the power to hear, grant and deny variances from the provisions of this chapter when, due to special conditions, a literal enforcement of its provisions in a particular case will result in unnecessary hardship. The procedures, standards, criteria, and appeal provisions for decisions regarding such variances shall be the same as those specified in chapter 26 of this part 16, which provisions are hereby incorporated herein.
- (3) *Signs*: General advertising signs shall not be permitted in the historic district.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.005)

Sec. 16-20I.006. - Specific regulations—Residential Subarea I.

In addition to the general regulations set forth in section 16-20I.005, and any other applicable regulations, the following regulations shall apply to all properties located within Residential Subarea I:

- (1) *Certificates of Appropriateness*: Certificates of appropriateness within this subarea shall be required as follows:
 - a. *When required*:

1. To change the exterior appearance of any portion of a structure within the subarea, when said change can be seen from the public right-of-way;
2. To erect a new structure or to make an addition to any structure within the subarea, when said new structure or addition can be seen from the public right-of-way; and
3. To demolish or move any contributing structure, in whole or in part, within the subarea.

b. *Type required:*

1. Type I certificates of appropriateness for ordinary repairs and maintenance are not required in this subarea. This exemption in no way obviates the requirements for certificates of appropriateness for all minor alterations (Type II), major alterations (Type III) and demolitions (Type IV, except partial demolitions).
2. Except with regard to Type I certificates, the procedures for determining the appropriate type of certificate required under subsection 16-20I.006(1)a. above shall be those specified in section 16-20.008 of the zoning code, provided, however, that a partial demolition shall require a Type IV certificate of appropriateness only when said partial demolition will result in the loss of significant architectural features which destroys the structure's historic interpretability or importance.

(2) Financial Hardship Exemptions:

- a. These regulations set forth a minimum standard of architectural compatibility within the subarea. However, in order to balance this concern with other equally important objectives in the district, including economic development, neighborhood revitalization, and prevention of displacement of residents, the urban design commission may allow reasonable exemptions from these regulations on the ground of economic hardship to the property owner. The burden of proof that the regulations and guidelines pose such a hardship shall be on the property owner.
- b. In order to qualify for an economic hardship exemption, the applicant(s) must first make a showing that the alteration(s) requested is necessary in order to continue utilizing the structure for its intended purpose.
- c. If the urban design commission finds that this requirement of subsection 16-20I.006(2)b. herein is satisfied, they shall consider the following factors in determining whether an economic hardship exemption in whole or in part will be granted:
 1. The present and future income of the property owner(s) and those occupying the property;
 2. The availability, at present or in the future of other sources of income or revenue, including loans, grants, and tax abatements;
 3. The cost associated with adherence to the subarea regulations;
 4. The degree of existing architectural importance and integrity of the structure; and
 5. The purpose and intent of this chapter.

- d. The urban design commission shall balance these factors as applied to the applicant for said exemption and shall grant said exemption, in whole or in part, as appropriate to the case upon a finding that the economic hardship to the applicant is significant and substantially outweighs the need for strict adherence to these regulations.
- (3) *Lot Size:* In addition to the requirements of the subdivision and zoning ordinances, the compatibility rule specified in this chapter 20I shall apply to all subdivisions and aggregations of lots with regard to lot size, dimensions and configurations.
- (4) *Architectural Standards:*
- a. *Building facades:*
 - 1. All new construction shall conform to the existing building orientation (setbacks) by having sidewalks, front yards, porches and front doors facing and parallel to the street, and if located on a corner, the main facade shall face the principal street whenever possible.
 - 2. At a minimum, the front of all new construction, including any portion thereof, shall be placed at the distances from the street determined by the compatibility rule. This requirement shall also apply to those sides of corner lots which also face a street.
 - 3. All building materials which upon completion are visible from the public right-of-way, shall be compatible with those which predominate in the subarea.

4. Siding repair or replacement shall match the original materials in scale and direction. Wood clapboard, if original is preferred; however, aluminum, masonite vinyl or other horizontal siding is permitted if window trim, cornerboards, and fascia/bargeboards are left in place or replaced with new material to match the original.
5. Contemporary design of new construction, compatible with adjacent and surrounding structures, is permitted.
6. No structure shall exceed that height established by the compatibility rule, with a permitted differential of ten (10) percent.

b. *Windows and Doors:*

1. Architecturally significant windows and doors, including details, trimwork, and framing, shall be retained.
2. Original window and door openings shall not be blocked or enclosed, in whole or in part.
3. Replacement windows and doors shall be permitted only when originals cannot be rehabilitated. Replacement windows and doors shall match the original in style, materials, shape and size with no more than a one-inch width or height difference from the original size.
4. Dropped ceilings, when located below the head of a window, shall be sufficiently recessed from the window opening to maintain the original exterior appearance.

5. New doors and windows, when permitted, shall be compatible in scale, size, proportion, placement, and style to existing windows and doors.
6. The ratio of openings to solid for all new construction (for example, windows to wall) shall be established by the compatibility rule, with a permitted differential of ten (10) percent.
7. The scale, size, and proportion of all openings in new construction shall be established by the compatibility rule with a permitted differential of ten (10) percent.
8. New windows or doors added to existing structures shall be located on sides or to the rear of buildings, rather than on the front.

c. *Foundations:*

1. Foundation materials, including infill materials, shall replicate the original materials in size, shape, color, texture and mortar, and shall be installed using construction techniques similar to the original.
2. New foundations shall be of masonry or concrete construction. Other foundation materials are permitted provided they are appropriate to the building on which they are located and in scale, materials, and style with adjacent and surrounding buildings.
3. Slab on grade is not permitted.

4. Lattice, painted concrete block, brick or stucco shall be used as infill between foundation masonry piers when infill is otherwise required.
- d. *Storm doors, storm windows, shutters and awnings:*
1. Shutters shall be operable or appear operable, and shall fit the size of the window.
 2. Replacement shutters shall match the original shutters in design, materials and configuration.
 3. Storm doors, screen doors or storm windows shall be of compatible design and shall not cover, obscure or dominate significant architectural details.
 4. Fabric and metal awnings are permitted. All other types of canopies and awnings are prohibited.
- e. *Chimneys:*
1. Chimneys shall match original materials, mortar, color and pattern whenever possible.
 2. New chimneys shall be faced with brick or stucco.
 3. Siding on chimneys is prohibited.
- f. *Roofs:*
1. Roofing materials shall be of the same size, texture and materials as existing, exposed roofing materials when the existing, exposed roofing materials constitute a significant architectural feature of the structure.

2. Cold-rolled roofing is permitted only on flat roofs. Corrugated metal and corrugated fiberglass roofs are not permitted.
3. The shape and pitch of roofs for new construction shall be subject to the compatibility rules.
4. Decks, skylights, solar panels and communication equipment, when otherwise allowed by these or other regulations are permitted on roofs of buildings provided they cannot be seen from the public right-of-way.

g. *Porches:*

1. Architecturally significant porches, steps and stoops shall be retained.
2. Replacement porches, steps and stoops shall match the original in size, style and materials.
3. Porches may be enclosed with screenwire or glass if the main characteristics of a front porch are maintained.
4. Porches shall contain balustrades, columns and other features consistent with porches in that block.

h. *Accessory structures:* Accessory structures, such as carriage houses, smoke houses, greenhouses, tenant and alley houses, private garages, carports, air conditioners and heating units, can be located to the side or rear of the main structure within the buildable area of the lot and shall not project beyond the front of the main structure. In addition, said structures shall be located in the least visible location within permissible areas.

Screening with appropriate plant or fence materials is required if said structure is visible from the public right-of-way.

- i. *Fences:* Fences shall be fabricated of brick, cast iron, wrought iron, stone and wood pickets. Fence lines shall follow the property line. Fences shall not obscure the front facade of the building. Chain link type of fencing shall be located to the rear of the lot and shall not extend beyond the front facade of the main structure into the front yard.
- j. *Walls:* Concrete block may be used in retaining walls, but stone or brick facing material is required.
- k. *Ornaments:*
 - 1. Architecturally significant ornaments, such as corner boards, cornice, brackets, downspouts, railings, columns, steps, doors and windows moldings, shall be retained.
 - 2. Replacement ornaments shall be permitted only when originals cannot be rehabilitated.
 - 3. Installation of new ornaments, where none previously existed, shall be permitted only when it is in accordance with the architectural style of the original structure.

(5) *Paved Surfaces:*

- a. The original layout, patterns and paving materials of sidewalks, curbs and streets shall be retained.
- b. Resurfacing or new installation of paved areas, other than those specified in subsection 16-20I.006(5)a. above, including driveways, walkways, and

patios, or portions thereof, shall match the color and materials of the original surface whenever possible.

(6) *Off-Street Parking Requirements:*

- a. Off-street parking shall not be permitted in the front yard.
- b. Carports and garages shall be behind the rear of the main structure. If the main structure is located on a corner lot, the front yard setback for that side of the street shall apply to the construction of a carport or garage.

(7) *Signs:*

- a. Identification signs for home occupations shall not exceed two (2) square feet in area.
- b. Identification signs for institutional uses shall not exceed 30 square feet in area.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.006)

Sec. 16-20I.007. - Specific regulations—Transitional Commercial Subarea II.

- (a) The following regulations shall apply to all properties located within the Transitional Commercial Subarea II. These regulations are intended to mitigate any nocuous effects that the commercial subarea may have on adjoining residential uses within the Adair Park Historic District. These regulations further intend to maintain compatibility between the existing and future uses of the subarea and the overall residential character of the district as a whole.

- (1) *Development Controls:*
 - a. *Setbacks:* The compatibility rule shall apply only to front yard setbacks. A variance of up to five (5) percent shall be permitted. Other setbacks shall be regulated by the applicable commercial district regulations.
 - b. *Bulk Limitations:* Floor area ratio shall not exceed an amount equal to one times the net lot area.
 - (2) *Maximum Height:* The compatibility rule shall apply to the height of all structures, additions and alterations. A variance of up to 10 percent shall be permitted.
 - (3) *Screening:* In addition to the screening required for any lot in this subarea which abuts a residential use on the rear lot line, without an intervening street, there must also be a five-foot-wide buffer planted with tree and/or shrub materials.
- (b) In addition to the above regulations, all contributing structures in the Transitional Commercial Subarea I shall comply with the following regulations.
- (1) *Certificates of Appropriateness:* Certificates of appropriateness within this subarea shall be required as follows:
 - a. *When required:*
 1. To change the exterior appearance of any portion of a contributing structure within the subarea, when said change can be seen from the public right-of-way;

2. To make an addition to any contributing structure within the subarea, when said addition can be seen from the public right-of-way; and
3. To demolish or move any contributing structure, in whole or in part, within the subarea.

b. *Type required:*

1. Type I certificates of appropriateness for ordinary repairs and maintenance are not required in this subarea. This exemption in no way obviates the requirements for certificates of appropriateness for all minor alterations (Type II), major alterations (Type III) and demolitions (Type IV, except partial demolitions).
2. Except with regard to Type I certificates, the procedures for determining the appropriate type of certificate shall be those specified in the zoning code, provided, however, that a partial demolition shall require a Type IV certificate of appropriateness only when said partial demolition will result in the loss of significant architectural features which destroys the structure's historic interpretability or importance.

(2) *Architectural Standards:* All contributing structures shall comply with the architectural standards as set out in section 16-20I.006(4)a through k.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.007)

Sec. 16-20I.008. - Specific regulations—Transitional Industrial Subarea III.

The following regulations shall apply to all properties located within the Transitional Industrial Subarea III. These regulations are intended to mitigate any nocuous effects that the industrial subarea may have on adjoining residential uses within the Adair Park Historic District. These regulations further intend to maintain compatibility between the existing and future uses of the subarea and the overall residential character of the district as a whole.

- (1) *Certificates of Appropriateness:* Certificates of appropriateness are not required in the Transitional Industrial Subarea III, but all new construction and development shall conform to the following regulations.
- (2) *Development controls:*
 - a. **Setbacks:** The compatibility rule shall apply only to front yard setbacks. A variance of up to five (5) percent shall be permitted. Other setbacks shall be as regulated by the applicable industrial district regulations.
 - b. **Bulk Limitations:** Floor area ratio shall not exceed an amount equal to one (1) times the net lot area.
- (3) *Maximum Height:* No new structures, additions or alterations shall exceed two (2) stories in height.

- (4) *Screening*: In addition to the screening required for any lot in this subarea which abuts a residential use on the rear lot line, without an intervening street, there must also be a five-foot-wide buffer planted with tree and/or shrub materials.

(Code 1977, § 16-20I.008)

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